TRAINING COLLEGE FOR WOMEN. BIJAPUR.

away coarse spices. The people were idolators with a language of their own, a king of their own, and no tribute to pay. It was a great kingdom, but the coasts were infested with corsairs who sallied forth in fleets of more than a hundred vessels. They took their wives and children with them and stayed at sea during the whole summer. Twenty or thirty of the pirate craft, five or six miles apart, made a line and covered something like a hundred miles of sea so that no merchant ships could escape them.[1]

The Bahmani dynasty which ruled the Deccan from 1343 to about 1490 seem never to have extended their power so far to the south-west as Kánara. Apparently during the whole of this time, and on at least to 1565, Kánara and the Bombay Karnátak were under the rule of two dynasties of Vijayanagar or Anegundi kings of which the first lasted from about 1330 to 1480 and the second from about 1480 to 1580.[2] Vijayanagar the City of Victory, originally Vidyánagar the City of Learning, stands on the right or south bank of the Tungabhadra, in rugged picturesque country, about thirty-six miles north-west of Bellári. It and its suburb Anegundi on the northern bank of the river form one of the finest ruins in India.[3] The empire, which is probably the richest and most powerful which has ruled over the south of India within historic times, was founded by two brothers who are generally known as Hakka and Bukka. They are described as the sons of Sangama, a prince of the Yádav line and lunar race, who is described in one inscription as Sailankanátha and whose father's name seems to have been Kampa. As their

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[1] Yule's Marco Polo, II. 324, 325. According to a tradition which was generally believed at Kánanur in the early part of the sixteenth century and which the peculiar architecture of certain temples and tombs at Mudbidri in South Kánara seems to support, a great Chinese fleet came to Western India in the twelfth century and the people settled along the whole western coast. (Three Voyages of Da Gama, 147; Fergusson's Architecture, 270-276). Some Musalmán and Portuguese writers have vague references to Chinese at Chaul in Kolába and at Gogho in South Káthiáwár (see Bombay Gazetteer, XI. 469,470). But no sign or tradition of a Chinese settlement has been traced on the coast of North Kánara.

[2] Buchanan (Mysore, III. 113) places a Yavan dynasty at Anegundi between 782 and 836, and Mr. Rice (Mysore, I. 222) describes Anegundi as the traditional site of an early Yavan dynasty of whom little is known.

[3] Newbold (Journal Asiatic Society, Bengal, XIV. 518) gives the following description of the Vijayanagar ruins: The whole of the extensive site occupied by the ruins of Bijánagar on the south bank of the Tungabhadra, and of its suburb Anegundi on the north bank, is occupied by great bare piles and bosses of granite and granitoidal gneiss, separated by rocky defiles and narrow rugged valleys, encumbered by precipitated masses of rock. Some of the larger flat-bottomed valleys are irrigated by aqueducts from the river, and appear like so many verdant oases in this Arabia Petræa of Southern India. Indeed some parts of the wilderness of Sinai reminded me, but on a far grander scale, of this huddled assemblage of bare granite rocks on the banks of the Tungabhadra. The formation is the same, the scantiness of vegetation, the arid aspect of the bare rocks, and the green spots marking the presence of springs few and far between in the depths of the valleys, are features common to both localities. The peaks, tors, and logging stones of Bijánagar and Anegundi indent the horizon in picturesque confusion, and are scarcely to be distinguished from the more artificial ruins of the ancient Hindu metropolis of the Deccan, which are usually constructed with blocks quarried from their sides, and vie in grotesqueness of outline and massiveness of character with the alternate airiness and solidity exhibited by nature in the nicely poised logging stones and columnar piles, and in the walls of prodigious cuboidal blocks of granite which often crest and top her massive domes and ridges in natural Cyclopean masonry.

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Vijayanagar Kings, 1330-1480.

earliest inscriptions are found in the north and west of Maisur, Mr. Rice thinks they may be descended from feudatories of the Hoysala Ballálas; according to another tradition they were of the Kákateya or Warangal family; and according to a third account they belonged to the Banavási Kadambas.[1] Bishop Caldwell accepts the second of Mr. Rice's traditions, that they came from Warangal in the Nizám's Dominions which had been taken by the Muhammadans in 1323.[2] The brothers Hakka or Harihara and Bukka are said to have been helped by a sage named Mádhav, who according to one account was minister of prince Sangama and according to another was the head of the great Smárt monastery of Shringeri in West Maisur.[3] He was enlightened enough to see that the only safety of the Hindu religion lay in the protection of a powerful monarch. The Vijayanagar sovereigns adopted the *varáha* or boar as the emblem on the royal signet, and their family god was Virupáksha, a local Shiv, in whose honour their grants are signed Shri Virupáksha. In inscriptions the epithets Vira Pratápa Praudha Deva are those commonly applied to the Vijayanagar kings[4] who were known as Ráyas, a southern form of the title Rája.[5] Harihara was the eldest of five brothers the fourth of whom, Marapa, conquered the Kadamba territories and ruled as viceroy in the Shimoga

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[1] Rice's Mysore, I. 197, III. 98; and Madras Journal of Literature and Science, 1878, 141. It may be noticed that the Russian traveller Athanasius Nikitin, who was in the Deccan in 1474, calls the ruler of Bichenegher, the Kaadam king. Major's India in the XVth Century, 29.

[2] Tinnevelly Manual, 45, 47. Buchanan (Mysore, III. 97) makes them of the Kuruba or shepherd caste. His story (Mysore, III. 115, 116) is the same as that adopted by Bishop Caldwell. They were the treasury guardians of Pratáprudra, king of the Andhra country, or Warangal, who was overthrown by the Musalmáns in 1323. They came to Shri Maha Vidyáranya, a Maha Svámi and eleventh successor of Shankaráchárya, and asked his help. He visited Gód and, according to his orders, Vijayanagar was begun and finished after seven years in 1335. The pontiff crowned Hakka and gave him the name of Harihara Ráyaru. The Portuguese historian Faria (Kerr, IV. 399) says Kánara, properly Charnataca, had no power till Boka a shepherd built Vijayanagar.

[3] Mádhav was a successor of Shankaráchárya and head of the great Shringeri monastery in the Kadur district of Maisur. He was a man of great learning. According to Dr. Burnell he was the same as Sáyana, the famous commentator on the Vedas. Rice's Mysore, I. 223.

[4] Mr. Rice (Mysore, I. 224) gives the following table of the Vijayanagar kings. He notices that some of the dates are doubtful and that most of those handed down by tradition are wrong:

Vijayanagar Kings, 1336-1587.

Harihara, Hakka, Hariyappa	1336-1350
Bukka, Vira Bukkanna	1350-1379
Harihara II.	1379-1401
Deva Ráya, Vijaya Ráya, Vijaya Bukka	1401-1451
Mallikárjuna, Vira Mallanna, Praudha Deva	1451-1465
Virupáksha	1465-1479
Narasa, Narasimh	1479-1487
Vira Narsimh, Narsimh II.	1487-1508
Krishna Ráya / Achyuta Ráya	1508-1542
Sadásiva Ráya (Ráma Rája regent usurps the throne till 1565)	1542-1573
Sri Ranga Ráya (Tirumala Rája, brother of Ráma Rája, 1566)	1574-1587
Vira Venkatápati	1587

[5] The Tamil honour-giving plural of Ráya is Ráyar and the Telugu plural is Ráyalu. Caldwell's Tinnevelly, 47.

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district of north-west Maisur. That Vijayanagar power was soon carried to the western coast is shown by the African traveller Abu Abdullah Muhammad, better known as Ibn Batuta, who visited the Kánara coast in 1342. Ibn Batuta came to the island of Sindábur, apparently Chitakul or Sintakura, the modern Sadáshivgad close to Kárwár, which he notices was the head of thirty-six inland villages. He did not stop at Chitakul, but dropped anchor at a small island near it, apparently Anjidiv, in which was a temple and a water-cistern. He landed on the island and found an ascetic leaning against a wall and placed between two idols. He seemed to be a Moslem but would not talk. He next came to the city of Hinaur, that is Honávar, on an estuary which received large vessels. The people were Moslems of the Shafai or Arab sect, famous sea-fighters, the men peaceful and religious, the women chaste and handsome. Most of them, both men and women, knew the Kurán by heart. There were twenty-three schools for boys and thirteen schools for girls.[1] The ruling chief was Jamál-ud-din Muhammad Ibn. He was subject to an infidel king named Hariab, that is Hariap or Hariappa (1336-1350) of Vijayanagar. Jamál-ud-din was one of the best of princes. He had an army of about 6000 men and the people of Malabár, though a brave and warlike race, feared the chief of Honávar for his bravery at sea, and paid him tribute. Ibn Batuta went on to Kalikat and came back to Honávar where he found the chief preparing an expedition against the Island of Sindábur or Chitakul. They went with a fleet of fifty-two vessels and found the people of Sindábur ready to resist them, but after a hard fight carried the place by assault. Ibn Batuta started for Honávar and after a second visit to Kalikat came back to Chitakul, but as he found the town besieged by an infidel king he left for the Máldiv Islands. He describes Malabár from Sindábur to Kaulam or Quilon as all shaded with trees. At every half mile there was a wooden rest-house, a well, and a Hindu in charge. He gave water to Hindus in vessels and poured it into the hands of Musalmáns. In most parts the Musalmán merchants had houses and were respected. In all the country there was not a span free from cultivation. Everybody had a garden with a house in the middle and round it a fence of wood. People travelled on beasts of burden, the king alone on a horse. Traders were carried on men's backs and nobles in a box on men's shoulders. Merchants walked followed by two or three hundred carriers. Thieves were unknown because death was the punishment of theft.[2]

Of Bukka or Vira Bukkanna (1350-1379), Hariappá's brother and successor, Buchanan records an inscription, dated 1374 (S. 1297) from Cupatura or Kupgadde ten miles south-east of Banavási in the reign of Vira Buka Rája of Hasinávali, the Sanskrit of Anegundi the Elephant Pit.[3] Another inscription of the same year (1374, S. 1297) found at Gokarn records a grant by Shri Vira Bukka Ráya by the favour

[1] Yule's Cathay, II. 416

[2] Lee's Ibn Batuta, 164, 166, 167, 174. Yule (Cathay, II. 444) identifies Sindábur with Goa. It seems to be the same as the Portuguese Sintakura that is Chitakul now Sadáshivgad.

[3] Mysore, III. 233.

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of the feet of Virupáksha, the local Shiv of Vijayanagar.[1] Buchanan records a third grant, also found at Gokarn, by the son of Harihara Ráya to support an inn.[2] This falls within the reign of Harihara II. (1379-1401). He found a third inscription at Gokarn, of Buka Ráya Trilochia son of Harihara Ráya, king of Haiva, Tulav, and Konkan,[3] and another at Gersappa dated 1409 (S. 1322) in which by order of Pratáp Deva Ráya Trilochia, king of Vijayanagar, the Jain chief of Gersappa granted lands to a temple of Gunavanti at Gersappa.[4] This mention of a Jain under-lord of the Vijayanagar kings at Gersappa supports a tradition which Buchanan learned from the Bráhmans of Bhatkal, that, under the Vijayanagar kings, there were local chiefs at Bhatkal, at Shiráli about five miles further north, at Chandávar about ten miles east of Kumta, at Gersappa, and at Mirján, though the Bráhmans made out that these chiefs were of the Bráhmanic and not of the Jain faith.[5] These Jain chiefs were probably, as in other parts of the Vijayanagar territory, styled Náiks.[6] According to Musalmán accounts, about 1368 Bukka suffered a series of defeats at the hands of Muhammad Sháh Bahmani (1358-1375.)[7]

Harihara II. (1379-1401), the third in succession and his son Deva Ráya (1401-1451) greatly extended the power of Vijayanagar. Harihara is said to have conquered Chola, Kerala, and Pándyà, besides by his victories causing the days to appear cloudy to the tear-blinded wives of the Yavans or Musalmáns. During these two reigns their power extended over the whole of Kánara. This part of the Karnátak entirely escaped the bloody wars between Vijayanagar and the Bahmani kings which from time to time laid waste the borders of the Krishna and the Tungabhadra. The land seems to have been well governed and prosperous as the Musalmán historians give wonderful accounts of the wealth of Vijayanagar at the beginning and at the close of the reign of Deva Raya (1401-1451).[8] During

[1] Mysore, III. 170.

[2] Buchanan (Mysore, III. 110) mentions a revenue accountant in Kánara whose records went back to the conquest of the country by Harihara Ráyalu in 1335. In support of the truth of these accountant's records Sir T. Munro explains (Report of 31st May 1800) that the value of the land had led the accountants to take the greatest care of their papers. They were written in black books which lasted more than a century; two or three copies were made, and when a book became worn a fresh copy was taken and a memorandum entered in the title-page mentioning in the Shálivábán era the year in which it was written, and the year in which the original had been written. Many of these books had lately been lost, but enough remained to make a complete abstract of the land-rent during 400 years. Arbuthnot's Life of Munro, I. 163.

[3] Mysore, III. 170. [4] Mysore, III. 174. [5] Mysore, III. 165.

[6] Rice (Mysore, III. 98) says the Vijayanagar kings governed outlying districts by chiefs called Náiks. Bishop Caldwell (Tinnevelly Manual, 62-69) notices that Náyak, which in Sanskrit means leader or chief, was in Southern India the hereditary title of certain Telugu castes. In Telugu the masculine singular is written Náyudu and in Tamil Náyakkan. It is the same word as the Malayálam Náyar or Nair. Buchanan (III. 123) notices that in South Kánara the Vijayanagar kings allowed the Jain chiefs to manage their own affairs. These local under-lords were also styled Páligárs which in Tamil is Pálayakára, in Telugu Pálegádu, and in Kánarese Pálegára. The word properly means the holder of a camp or military grant. Bishop Caldwell (Tinnevelly, 58) notices that the Vijayanagar or Telugu Pálegár was supposed to be the lord of thirty-three villages.

[7] Briggs' Ferishta, II. 317, 326; Elliot and Dowson, VI. 231, 232.

[8] Ferishta (Briggs, II. 386) tells how Firoz Sháh Bahmani (1397-1422), when he visited his father-in-law Deva Ráya in Vijayanagar, found the road for six miles outside

Nicolo Conti, 1420-1440.

the reign of Deva Ráya, Vijayanagar was visited by two strangers Nicolo Conti an Italian, who was in India between 1420 and 1440, and Abd-er-Razzak, the ambassador of the Persian king Sháh Rukh to the king of Kalikat who was in Vijayanagar in 1443. Nicolo Conti reached Heli that is Mount Dely on the Malabár coast and from there went 300 miles inland to Vijayanagar or Bizenegalia. The city was sixty miles round and was said to contain 90,000 men able to bear arms. The king had 12,000 wives of whom 4000 went on foot and served in his kitchen, 4000 went on horse-back, and 4000 went in litters. Of the litter ladies 2000 were chosen as wives on condition that they would burn when the king died.[1] Nicolo was much impressed by a great car-festival. Two chariots crowded with priests and dancing-girls were dragged along, people throwing themselves under the wheels that they might be crushed to death. Others, and this was esteemed a higher sacrifice, drew a rope through their bodies and hung from the car like ornaments.[2] Abd-er-Razzak, the Persian ambassador, reached Vijayanagar from Mangalor. On his way he passed through Bednur whose houses were like palaces, its beauties like houris, and its temples and other buildings marvels of sculpture and painting. He found Vijayanagar, where he arrived at the end of April 1443, an exceeding large and populous city, the seat of a king of great power whose kingdom stretched from Ceylon to Kulburga and from Bengal to Malabár. Most of the land was well tilled and fertile and there were about 300 sea-ports each equal to Kalikat.[3] There were 1000 elephants and an army of over a million men. There was no more absolute *rái* in India than the king of Vijayanagar. The city had seven fortified walls one within the other. The first or outmost circle enclosed a space eight miles (2 *parasangs*) across. Between the first, second, and third circles of wall were fields and gardens, and from the third to the seventh or inmost circle the space was closely crowded with markets and shops. The seventh or central circle was on a hill. In it was the palace of the king and four markets with a lofty arcade and magnificent gallery at the head of each. The markets were broad and long. There were always sweet fresh flowers and the different crafts had separate quarters. Many streams flowed along polished and level stone channels. On the right of the palace, which was the loftiest building in the city, was a pillared hall where the minister did justice. On the left was the mint with hollow chambers full of masses of molten gold. Opposite the mint was the police office with 12,000 soldiers. Behind the mint was a market 300 yards long by twenty broad, where the dancing-girls lived, very beautiful, rich, and accomplished. The king was exceedingly young, of a spare body, rather tall, and of an olive colour. During Abd-er-Razzak's stay at Vijayanagar, the brother of the king killed many of the leading nobles and all but succeeded in assassinating

Abd-er-Razzak, 1443.

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of the city-gate spread with cloth of gold, velvet, satin, and other rich stuffs. The two princes rode between ranks of beautiful boys and girls who waved plates of gold and silver flowers over their heads and threw them to be gathered by the people.

[1] Major's India in the XVth Century, III. 6.

[2] Major's India in the XVth Century, III. 28. [3] Elliot and Dowson, IV. 899, 102.

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Abd-er-Razzak, 1443.

the king. The king sat on a throne of gold inlaid with jewels and the walls of the throne room were lined with plates of gold. During part of the time Abd-er-Razzak was there a Christian was minister.[1] There was a wonderful festival at *Dasara* time or *Mahánavami*, the September full-moon. The great plain near the city was filled with enchanting pavilions covered with most delicate and tasteful pictures of animals, and there was one pillared mansion nine stories high for the king. For three days, with the most gorgeous display, dancing-girls danced and sang, fireworks blazed, and showmen and jugglers performed wonderful feats. Abd-er-Razzak left Vijayanagar on the 5th of November 1443 and reached Mangalor on the 23rd of the same month. It was impossible within reasonable space to give an idea how well the country was peopled. All the people, high and low, even the workers in the market-places, wore jewels and gilt ornaments in their ears and round their necks, arms, wrists, and fingers. From Mangalor he went to the port of Honávar or Hanur and there arranged for a vessel to take him back to Persia. He started on the 28th of January and reached Ormuz on the 22nd of April after a voyage of sixty-five days.[2]

During the reigns of Dev Ráya's successors Mallikárjuna (1451-1465) and Virupáksha (1465-1479), the power of Vijayanagar greatly declined. On the coast their greatest loss was the capture of Goa by the Musalmáns in 1470.[3] Formerly trade was distributed among the different Kánara ports, but, after the Musalmán conquest, trade was compelled to centre at Goa. In 1479 the old Musalmán traders of Honávar migrated to Goa and were so important an addition that the new, now the old or Musalmán, town of Goa was built to receive them.[4] According to the Russian traveller Athanasius Nikitin, who was in the Deccan about 1474, the king of Bidar attacked the very powerful Hindu prince Kadam and took his capital Bicheneghur, a vast city surrounded by three forts and crossed by a river. In the capture 20,000 people were killed.[5] It was perhaps in consequence of the ill-fortune of Mallikárjuna and Virupáksha that in 1479 the old family was set aside and a new dynasty founded by Narasa or Narsingh. According to one account Narsingh (1479-1487) was the slave of the last king Virupáksha; according to another account he was a chief of Telingana; and according to a third of Tulav or South Kánara. He is said to have been a Yádav of the family of Krishna Ráya and the son of Shekhara and Bukkama. His conquests extended over the whole of the south and he is said to have founded Seringapatam in Maisur. Narsingh was succeeded by Vira Narsingh or Narsingh II. who ruled from 1487 to 1508 and from whom the early Portuguese called the whole of Southern India the kingdom of Narsinga.[6] Of Narsingh Buchanan

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[1] Major's India in the XVth Century, 41.

[2] Elliot and Dowson, IV. 103-125; Major's India in the XVth Century, III. 1-49.

[3] Briggs' Ferishta, II. 485.

[4] Commentaries of Dalboquerque, II. xcix. According to Faria (Kerr, VI. 130) Goa belonged to the Moors of Honávar before it was taken by the Bahmanis.

[5] Major's India in the XVth Century, IV. 29.

[6] It is doubtful whether there were two rulers of the name of Narsingh. Dr.

records the following grants from Kánara: In the temple of Dháreshvar, about six miles south of Kumta, in 1499 (S. 1422) a copper-plate grant by Deva Ráya Wodeyar Trilochia which is said to be a name of the Vijayanagar kings because they governed the Telugus, Tamils, and Karnátakas;[1] also in the temple of Dháreshvar in 1501 an order from Trinetra Solva Narasingha Náyaka, king of three seas and of Anegundi to Devarasu Wodeyar to grant lands to Bráhmans;[2] also in the same place and date, a grant by Solva Deva Ráya Wodeyar Rája of Nagar that is Vijayanagar, Haiga, Tulav, and Konkana. At Beidaru or Bednur Buchanan also found an inscription dated 1506 (S. 1429) in the reign of Jebila Narasingha Ráya, the great king of Vijayanagar in which Kedali Basvapa Aisa Wodeyar was appointed Rayada of Barkaru with orders to restore the lands of the gods and of Bráhmans.[3] It seems also to have been during the reign of Narsingh in 1499 (S. 1422) that Sadáshiv Náyak, the founder of the family of Kilidi, Ikkeri, or Bednur was placed in power on the southern borders of North Kánara.[4]

The Portuguese, 1498.

During the reign of Narsingh II. an event occurred which deeply affected the future of the Vijayanagar territories on the Kánara coast. Vasco da Gama sighted Mount Dely in South Kánara on the 26th of August 1498.[5] On his return from the Malabár coast, which he had been forced to leave before the proper season, Vasco da Gama stopped at the islands off Kundápur now named the St. Mary Isles, and with the approval of the people, whose friendship he won by the gift of shirts and other articles, set up a cross and called the island El Padron de Sancta Maria.[6] He next called at Anjidiv and remained there from about the 25th of November to the 10th of December. The Portuguese were greatly pleased with Anjidiv. There were good water-springs and the upper part of the island had a fine stone cistern. There was also much wood. The only person on the island was a Musalmán beggar or Jogi who lived on rice and herbs which he received from passing boats.[7] While the Portuguese were on the island they were supplied with fish, fowls, and vegetables by fishermen who lived on a river about a mile distant, named Cintacola, that is Chitakul, now Sadáshivgad, at the mouth of the Aliga or Kálinadi river.[8] The news that Portuguese ships were anchored at Anjidiv spread along the coast. From Honávar a corsair named Timoja, that is Timmaya, came with eight boats covered with branches, so that they looked like a floating island, in the hope of surprising them; but his boats were met and scattered by the Portuguese artillery.[9] When

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Burnell (Dravidian Palæography, 55) carries on Virupáksha the last of the earlier dynasty to 1490. The Portuguese historian Faria-y-Suza (Kerr, VI. 399) says the throne was usurped by Narsingh, after whom the city was called Narsingh instead of Bisnagar.

[1] Mysore, III. 164. [2] Mysore, III. 164. [3] Mysore, III. 109.
[4] Mysore, III. 254. [5] Three Voyages of Vasco da Gama, lxxx.
[6] Castanheda in Kerr's Voyages, II. 385. The St. Mary Isles are about twenty miles south of Bhatkal.
[7] Castanheda's fuller account is given under Places of Interest.
[8] Vasco da Gama's Three Voyages, 242-244.
[9] Three Voyages of Vasco da Gama, 244. Castanheda says these boats belonged to the Zamorin. Kerr's Voyages, II. 336.

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Vijayanagar Kings, 1480-1580.

The Portuguese, 1498.

news of the strange ships reached Goa, Sabayo, that is Yusuf Adil Sháh of Bijápur, but it was more probably the Sabayo's local governor, ordered a Musalmán Jew, who was at the head of his navy, to take some boats, find out who the strangers were, and if possible bring them prisoners to Goa. The Jew hid his vessels near the mouth of the Kálinadi. But the Portuguese were warned by their friends the Hindu fishermen, and when the Jew in a small boat passed their ships as if by accident and hailed them in Castilian, they appeared to be delighted and persuaded him to come on board. When the Jew was secured, Vasco da Gama flogged him for his treachery, and then with the Jew's help destroyed the Goa boats and carried him to Portugal, where he was baptised under the name of Gasper da Gama.[1] When Vasco da Gama returned in 1503 he saw near Anjidiv some thievish craft belonging to Timmaya of Honávar, a great sea-robber who paid part of the plunder to the king of Gersappa who ruled the country.[2] The pirate boats were pursued into the Honávar river. On entering the river the Portuguese were attacked from palisades by small guns and arrows. They forced a landing, and the people fled leaving some vessels on the beach laden with goods which the Portuguese burned. They then went on by another creek to Honávar town which was large and had many fighting men. They fell on it, and, as the people fled, burnt the town and all that was in it. Next day they reached the port of Bhatkal. Here were many Moorish ships, because this was a great place for loading rice, iron, and sugar, which were sent to all parts of India. They found cannon planted on a wall upon a rock at the bar and the people threw stones at the ships. They pushed on, and landing drove the Moors from some wharfs leaving behind them large quantities of rice and sugar. The Portuguese returned to their boats and went up the river to the town. On their way they were met by an envoy from the Bhatkal chief who had been sent to declare his master's willingness to submit to the Portuguese. Da Gama said that he had no wish to

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[1] Three Voyages, 244, 246, 253. Castanheda's version is somewhat different. According to him Vasco was ashore cleaning the bottom of his ship when the stranger arrived. He came and embraced them all and professed to be an Italian Christian. Gasper seems to have come back to India with Cabral in August 1500. See Kerr's Voyages, II. 387, 390, 405. According to Varthema (1505, Badger's Edition, 116) the captain of Goa at this time was a Mameluke, that is a Greek or Circassian Musalmán of Christian birth, and 400 of the garrison were Mamelukes. Of the condition of the people the only reference that has been traced in the account of the first voyage is that the Moor merchants were rich, but the people of the country had no profit or income, only enough to keep them in life. Three Voyages, 154. This applied to Malabár rather than to Kánara.

[2] Gasper Correa (Three Voyages, 309) calls Timmaya a foreign Moor. He seems to have been a Hindu. At the time of the arrival of the Portuguese trade was much troubled by pirates. Some from Goa, taken by the Portuguese in 1498 at Chitakul, had javelins, long swords, large bucklers of board covered with hide, very light and long bows, and broad-pointed cane arrows. Three Voyages of Vasco da Gama, 252. Others from Honávar in the same year are described as ornamented with flags and streamers, beating drums and sounding trumpets, and filled with rowers. Kerr's Voyages, II. 387. Further south, the pirates of Porca on the Malabár coast in 1514 had small vessels called *katurs* like brigantines easily rowed. They went with bows and arrows and so crowded round any ship they found becalmed, that they made it surrender by shooting arrows. They took the vessel and set the people safe on shore, and what they stole they shared with the lord of the country. Stanley's Barbosa, 17.

The Portuguese, 1500-1510.

harm them and would make a treaty on four conditions: that the chief paid tribute, did not trade in pepper, brought no Turks, and had no dealings with Kalikat. The chief said he could not pay a money tribute, but would give a thousand loads of common and 500 loads of fine rice a year. He could give no more because he was a tenant of the king of Vijayanagar to whom the country belonged. When Da Gama was satisfied that these statements were true he received the rice and confirmed the treaty.[1] In 1505 Dom Francisco d' Almeida, the first Portuguese viceroy, built a fort at Anjidiv, set a garrison of eighty men in it, and left two brigantines to protect trade.[2] While Almeida was at Anjidiv building the fort, ambassadors came from Honávar bringing presents and a friendly message from the chief. Several merchants also waited on him, and Moors brought presents from Chitakul or Cintacora, where the Bijápur king had lately built a fort and garrisoned it with 800 men. From Anjidiv Almeida went to Honávar, and being ill-received, attacked it. The people defended themselves bravely and discharged prodigious showers of arrows by one of which Almeida was wounded. Both the town and the ships took fire and the Portuguese for a time were much troubled by the smoke. Lourenco, the viceroy's son, who was afterwards (1508) killed in the great fight with the Egyptian and Gujarát fleets at Cheul in Kolába, made a circuit through the woods to get behind the town. He came across a detachment of the enemy and was on the point of being defeated, when his father came to his help. Timmaya, the governor of the city and the owner of several ships, came out and made excuses for his chief. As he was a man of graceful manners and appearance, and as he engaged that his master should become a vassal of the Portuguese, Almeida agreed to make a treaty.[3] During the same year (1505) an ambassador from Narsingh, who styled himself king of kings and over-lord of the king of Honávar, reached the Portuguese viceroy at Kánanur.[4] The viceroy gave him a prompt audience on board one of his ships. The ambassador said that his master was anxious to come to any agreement which would favour trade between his subjects and the Portuguese. He gave the viceroy leave to build a fort in any port of his dominions except at Bhatkal, because he had ceded Bhatkal to another. Finally, to tighten the bond of union between him and the king of Portugal, he offered his sister, a princess of rare beauty, in marriage to the prince of Portugal. These words were accompanied by very rich presents.[5]

Varthema, 1503.

Of the district of Kánara and of its over-lord Narsingh of Vijayanagar, the Italian traveller Varthema, who was in Kánara about 1503, gives interesting particulars.[6] He mentions that

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[1] Vasco da Gama's Three Voyages, 310-312.

[2] Castanheda in Kerr's Voyages, VI. 79. The early Portuguese fleets found Anjidiv a most convenient station for watering and refitting. Details are given under Anjidiv.

[3] Kerr's Voyages, VI. 80.

[4] According to Cardinal Luiz (Os. Portuguezos, Lisbon, 1848, I. 66) the Vijayanagar ambassador came to Anjidiv. But two embassies are not likely to have been sent.

[5] Os. Portuguezos, II. 139, 140.

[6] Varthema's dates are difficult to follow. Mr. Badger fixes his time in Kánara at 1505, p. 177.

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Vijayanagar Kings, 1480-1580.

Varthema, 1503.

Centacola, that is Chitakul, had a pagan lord who was not very rich. In the city were many Moorish merchants, and a great quantity of cow-beef, much rice, and the usual good Indian fruit. The people were tawny, and went naked, barefoot, and bareheaded. The lord was subject to the king of Bathacala that is Bhatkal. Next to Chitakul was Anzediv or Anjidiv, an island half a mile from the mainland and inhabited by Moors and pagans. The water was excellent but the air was not wholesome, nor was the island fertile. There was a good harbour between the island and the mainland.[1] A day from Anjidiv was Onor or Honávar whose king was a pagan and subject to king Narsingh. He was a good fellow, a great friend of the Portuguese, who went naked except a cloth round his middle, and had seven or eight ships which were always cruising about. The air was perfect and the people long-lived. There were wild hogs, stags, wolves, lions, and many strange birds, and many peacocks and parrots. They had beef of cows, that is red cows, and sheep in abundance. There was a great deal of rice, and roses, flowers and fruit flourished throughout the year.[2] Bathacala or Bhatkal was a very noble city, five days distant from the Deccan. It was a walled city, very beautiful, about a mile from the sea, along a small river which was the only approach and passed close to the walls. There was no sea-port. The king who was a pagan was subject to king Narsingh. The people were idolators after the manner of the people of Kalikat.[3] There were also many Moorish merchants who lived according to the Muhammadan religion. It was a district of great traffic with quantities of rice and abundance of sugar, especially of sugar candied according to the Italian manner. There were few horses, mules, or asses, but there were cows, buffaloes, sheep, oxen, and goats. There was no grain, barley, or vegetables, but nuts and figs after the manner of Kalikat and the other usual excellent fruits of India.[4] Varthema went from Kánanur fifteen days east to Bisinegar that is Vijayanagar. He describes the city as belonging to the king of Narsinga very large and strongly walled. It stood on the side of a mountain with three circles of walls, the outmost circle seven miles round. The site was beautiful, the air the best ever seen, and round the city were hunting places and fowling places. It seemed a second paradise. The land was rich and there was much trade and every delicacy. The king and all his kingdom were idolators, worshipping the devil in the same way as the people of Kalikat. He was the richest king Varthema ever heard of. His Bráhmans said he had £4000 (*Pardaos* 12,000) a day. He was always at war. He had 40,000 horsemen, whose horses were worth £100 to £266 (*Pardaos* 300-800) for horses were scarce, 400 elephants, and some dromedaries. He was a great friend of the

[1] Badger's Varthema, 120.

[2] Varthema, 121-122.

[3] Varthema (Badger, 151) noticed at Kalikat a very great number of merchants from Bathacala or Bhatkal.

[4] Badger's Varthema, 119-120. Mr. Badger takes these details as applying to Baitkul, that is Kárwár. It is true that Varthema, who was travelling south, mentions Bathacala before he mentions Chitakul, Anjidiv, or Honávar. It is also true that he makes the chief of Chitakul subject to the king of Bathacala. Still the want of a port, the mile up the river, the walled town, the likeness to Kalikat, and the five days from the Deccan, all suit Bhatkal, and do not suit Baitkul cove near Kárwár.

Christians, and the Portuguese did him much honour. He wore a cap of gold brocade, and when he went to war a quilted dress of cotton with an over-garment full of golden piastres and hung with jewels. The ornaments on his horse were worth more than an Italian city. He rode out with three or four kings, many lords, and five or six thousand horse. The men of condition wore cloth of gold on their head and a short shirt; their feet were bare. The common people were naked except a cloth round the middle. Travelling was everywhere safe except in some places from lions.[1] In his review of India at the time of the establishment of Portuguese power on the Kánara coast, Faria mentions Onor that is Honávar and Baticale that is Bhatkal. He also mentions the river of Centacola that is Chitakul opposite Anjidiv.[2]

In 1506 the Sabaia, that is Yusuf Adil Sháh (1489-1510) of Bijápur,[3] sent a fleet of sixty sail against Anjidiv under a renegade Portuguese Antonio Fernando, who had taken the Musalmán name of Abdulla. The Portuguese garrison, whose commander was Passauqia a noble Genoese, though ill-equipped and taken by surprise, defended the island with such gallantry that Abdulla withdrew. Almeida, the Portuguese viceroy, seeing how liable it was to attack and how large a garrison it required, ordered the Anjidiv fort to be destroyed.[4] In 1508 Portuguese ships are mentioned as going to get cloves at Baticala or Bhatkal, a fortress ninety miles south of Goa.[5] In this year the Portuguese were threatened by the joint fleets of Egypt and Gujarát, and they are said to have owed to Timmaya timely news of the movements of the Egyptian fleet. Towards the close of 1508 the Egyptian and Gujarát fleets defeated the Portuguese at the mouth of the Cheul river. Though victorious they suffered severely, and partly from the well-founded suspicions of the Gujarát king that the Egyptians were likely to prove not less dangerous enemies than the Portuguese, the fleets withdrew to Diu and in February 1509 were totally defeated by the Portuguese viceroy Dom Luiz d'Almeida. In reward for his faithfulness in warning them of the movements of the Egyptian fleet, the Portuguese agreed to help Timmaya to attack his rival the chief of Bhatkal. When the Portuguese reached Honávar they found that the quarrel was over and their services were not required. King Narsingh was dead and his son Krishna (1508-1542), after his installation, had come to Gokarn to weigh himself against gold. Out of respect for their over-lord the rival chiefs had stayed their quarrel.[6]

Krishna Ráya, 1508-1542.

Krishna Ráya succeeded in 1508 and ruled apparently till 1542. According to one account he was a younger son, and according to another account an illegitimate son of Narsingh. The mother of the elder son is said to have persuaded Narsingh to order Krishna

[1] Badger's Varthema, 125-131. [2] Kerr's Voyages, VI. 83, 86.
[3] Faria knew that the origin of the Ali Adil title Sabayo, that is Savai, was Sava in Persia where Yusuf the founder was brought up. Kerr, VI. 130; compare Briggs' Ferishta, III, 8.
[4] Castanheda in Kerr, VI. 9; Baldæus, 95, 96. In the Three Voyages of Vasco da Gama, p. 231, a saying of Almeida's is quoted, 'I built the castle of Kánanur and dismantled Anjidiv.'
[5] Commentaries of Dalboquerque, II. 53 [6] Mr. Mack's History.

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Vijayanagar Kings, 1480-1580.

Krishna Ráya, 1508-1542.

Ráya's death, but his life was saved by his father's minister Timma Rája whose talents afterwards added greatly to the success of Krishna Ráya's reign.[1]

Of Krishna Ráya's rule in Kánara Buchanan records the following inscriptions: A stone grant found in Gokarn dated 1519 (S. 1442) by Ratnappa Wodeyar and Vijayappa Wodeyar of Barkaru, feudatories of Sri Vira Krishna Ráya of Vijayanagar;[2] an inscription at Baidara or Bednur, dated 1523 (S. 1445) in the time of Devarasu Wodeyar Rája of Sanghitapura, the son of Sanga Ráya Wodeyar, an under-lord of Krishna Ráya, the chief of rájás in wealth, a king equal to Parmeshvar;[3] a grant to the village accountant of Gokarn dated 1529 (S. 1452) by Mahámandaleshvar Krishna Devarasu Wodeyar, king of Vijayanagar, Haiva, Tulava, and Konkan;[4] at Gokarn a copper-plate land grant dated 1527 (S. 1450) by Krishna Ráya[5] and in 1539 (S. 1462) at Dháreshvar about six miles south of Kumta a grant by Krishna Devarasu Wodeyar Trilochia.[6] According to Mr. Rice, probably at no time in the history of the south did any of its political divisions equal in extent and power the Vijayanagar of Krishna Ráya. About 1520 he severely defeated the Muhammadans, and for long after the defeat a good understanding prevailed between the courts of Vijayanagar and Bijápur.[7] He kept possession of all the country up to the Krishna; eastwards he captured Warangal and ascended to Cuttack where he married the daughter of the chief. He was a great patron of Sanskrit and Telugu literature and had eight poets at his court.[8] Besides being a successful warrior Krishna is believed to have made an excellent land revenue settlement in Maisur and in the Karnátak. Buchanan mentions the tradition,[9] and, in support of it, records that revenue papers in the possession of a Bráhman accountant at Gokarn showed a revenue settlement in lands near

[1] Mr. Rice (Mysore, I. 231) notices as a serious difficulty that in Krishna's grants the name of Achyuta Ráya also occurs. He seems to incline to the opinion that both names refer to Krishna Ráya. According to Dr. Burnell, Krishna's reign ended in 1530 and Achyuta ruled from 1534 to 1542. Caldwell's Tinnevelly, 46. One of Buchanan's inscriptions given in the text, if accurate, shows that Krishna was ruling in 1539 (S. 1462). [2] Mysore, III. 171.

[3] Mysore, III. 109. Sanghitapura is the modern Hadwali, about twelve miles east of Bhatkal. [4] Mysore, III. 171. [5] Mysore, III. 168. [6] Mysore, III. 164.

[7] Of this great victory the Portuguese historian Faria-y-Suza (Kerr, VI. 179) gives the following details. In 1520, Krishnaráo, king of Vijayanagar, collected 35,000 horse, 730,000 foot, and 586 elephants with 12,000 water-carriers and 20,000 dancing-girls, to recover the great castle of Rachol, that is Ráichur, which Bijápur had taken from him. Adil Sháh came to relieve Ráichur, but was defeated and forced to fly, forty Portuguese in his army fighting with great valour. Krishnaráo pressed the siege but with no success till Christopher de Figueredo and twenty Portuguese came with horses. Figueredo asked the king if he might attempt to assault the fort. Krishnaráo agreed and the second assault being well backed by the Vijayanagar troops, was successful. Soon after Adil Sháh sent an embassy to Krishnaráo, asking for the restoration of prisoners and plunder. Krishnaráo agreed on condition that Adil Sháh would acknowledge his supreme authority as Emperor of Kánara and come to kiss his foot. This degrading condition was accepted but its performance was delayed. Meanwhile Ray de Melo, who commanded in Goa, taking advantage of the decline of Bijápur power, took part of the country near the isle of Goa.

[8] Rice, I. 230; Tinnevelly Manual, 48. According, apparently to inscriptions (Rice's Mysore, I. 230), Krishna conquered as far as Sálsette. This must mean the Portuguese possessions in Goa. Goa Sálsette formerly included a much larger tract of land than it now includes. Dr. G. Da Cunha. See below p. 115, 116. [9] Mysore, I. 268.

Mirján which, according to tradition, dated from the time of Krishna Ráya.[1] An inscription near Balagámve, across the Maisur border from Banavási, records that the government demands from the country between Nagar and Vereda had been settled by a Jain officer during the reign of Krishna Ráyaru.[2] Mr. Rice also notices that the Vijayanagar kings introduced a regular system of land revenue into Maisur,[3] and from the inquiries he made on taking possession of Kánara in 1799, Sir T. Munro came to the conclusion that under the Vijayanagar kings Kánara enjoyed remarkable prosperity. Land was valuable and much sought after.[4] Mr. Rice quotes from a paper in the Mackenzie Collection the following account of the revenue management of the Vijayanagar territory: To improve the revenue the Government advanced money to small landholders that they might add to their stock and spread tillage. They repaired ponds and water-channels and dug wells. They granted leases to heads of villages and helped them to induce people from neighbouring states to settle and till waste lands. The growth of articles valued in trade was encouraged. Seeds and plants were procured and the people were taught how to grow sugar, indigo, and opium. Traders were encouraged to settle by the grant of advances, and in times of peace the state cattle were used to carry grain from outlying parts to trade centres.[5]

Dalboquerque, 1508-1512.

Though at first he seems to have been less well disposed to the Portuguese than his father, Krishna Ráya maintained friendly relations with the Portuguese. It was beyond doubt greatly owing to Portuguese horses, weapons, and artillerymen that he was so successful in his wars with Bijápur, the deadly enemy of Portuguese power. Towards the close of 1508, the year of Krishna Ráya's succession, the great Afonso Dalboquerque, the conqueror of Goa, Ormuz, and Malacca, and the establisher of Portuguese supremacy in the eastern seas, came to India. Almeida, the former viceroy, a great warrior and lover of power, was very unwilling to make way for Dalboquerque and he did not actually become viceroy till November 1509.[6] Soon after his arrival Timmaya of Honávar waited on Dalboquerque and tried to induce him to attack Goa.[7]

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[1] Under this settlement government took one-half of the estimated produce of gardens and one-fourth of rice land. There was a shop-tax and no house-tax. Prices seemed to have been much the same at the time of the settlement as they were in 1800. Buchanan, III. 171, 172.

[2] Buchanan's Mysore, III. 234.

[3] Rice's Mysore, I. 471.

[4] Munro to Board of Revenue, 31st May 1800.

[5] Rice's Mysore, I. 479-480. The truth of this account may perhaps be doubted. It seems closely to correspond to what Bishop Caldwell describes (Tinnevelly Manual, 55) as narratives from the Mackenzie Collection, little better than pure invention, dating from the beginning of the present century and attributing to an early ruler the characteristics and aims of a good English Collector. Whether Bishop Caldwell is correct or not in his estimate of these papers, Sir T. Munro has shown beyond doubt (Life, I. 65) that very moderate rents were introduced into Kánara early in the fourteenth century and were not raised till after the overthrow of Vijayanagar power. The Kánara rates seem to have been fixed specially low because of the difficulty of the country, its distance from head-quarters, and the turbulence of its people. In the neighbourhood of Vijayanagar the land rates were much higher (Munro's Life, I. 63, 64).

[6] Faria in Kerr, VI. 126.

[7] Com. Dalb. II. 53. Faria (Kerr, VI. 129) describes Timmaya as a powerful pirate who was anxious to be friendly with the Portuguese because he had been spoiled of his inheritance.

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Vijayanagar Kings, 1480-1580.

Dalboquerque, 1508-1512.

At the close of 1509 or early in 1510 Dalboquerque sent two ambassadors to king Krishna at Vijayanagar, Frey Luiz a Franciscan friar and Gasper Chanoco, proposing an offensive and defensive league against Yusuf Adil Sháh of Bijápur, offering a monopoly of the horse trade between Ormuz and Bhatkal, and asking leave to build a fort at Bhatkal.[1]

In 1510, when Afonso Dalboquerque was at Mirján on his way to Sokotra in the hope of destroying the power and trade of the Turks in the Red Sea, he was met by Timmaya who dissuaded him from going to seek the Moors at Sokotra when he had them at hand in Goa.[2] Yusuf Adil Sháh was dead and Goa was dead with him. The place was not strong, the defenders were few, the Portuguese fleet could easily pass the Goa bar as there was twenty-one feet of water at high tide. In consequence of Timmaya's advice Dalboquerque changed his course and bore down on the castle of Chitakul (25th February 1510). As they were casting anchor Timmaya came with thirteen boats and a large body of men from Honávar. Timmaya renewed his assurance that the king of Goa was dead, the place poorly defended, the garrison in arrears, and the people discontented. Dalboquerque called his captains and they agreed that Goa should be attacked. Timmaya sent men by land who fell upon the fortress of Chitakul in which was a commandant and a body of men. This fortress was on the bank of the river which divided Honávar from Goa. The garrison fled and Timmaya's men threw down part of the fort, set fire to the buildings, and carried off some pieces of artillery which the Turks had placed there.[3] On the 1st of March (1510) the Portuguese captured the fort of Panjim close by the entrance of the Goa bar, and two days later the town and fort were surrendered without further struggle.[4] Within a year or two before its capture by Dalboquerque the strength and importance of Goa had greatly increased. According to the Portuguese traveller Duarte Barbosa, who was minutely acquainted with the west coast of India between 1500 and 1514, the Sabayur Delcani, that is Yusuf Adil Sháh (1489-1510) of Bijápur, was very fond of Goa and at one time thought of making it his head-quarters. Under him it was a great place of trade with many Moors, white men, and rich merchants, and many great gentile merchants. To its good port flocked ships from Mecca, Aden, Ormuz, Cambay, and the Malabár country. Sabayur Delcani lived much in Goa and kept there his captain and men-at-arms, and without his leave no one went out or in by land or by sea. The town was large with goodly buildings and handsome streets and a fine fortress. There were many mosques and Hindu temples. After the defeat of the Egyptian fleet at Diu in 1509 Sabayur called all the Rumis, that is

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[1] Com. Dalb. II. lxv.; Os. Port. III. 26. Mr. Mack calls Gasper, one of the ambassadors, a converted Jew of Bhatkal. If this is correct he probably was the Jew admiral of Goa who was taken by Vasco da Gama in 1499 and made a Christian under the name of Gasper. (See above p. 102). To the conditions mentioned in the text Mr. Mack adds a provision that Krishna should show favour to the Christian religion.

[2] Faria in Kerr, VI. 129.

[3] Com. Dalb. II. 86.

[4] Com. Dalb. II. 89, 91; Faria in Kerr, VI. 131.

Turks and Mámelukes, to him and treated them with great honour.[1] He hoped with their help to defeat the Portuguese. Much money was collected, great ships and handsome European-like galleys and brigantines were built, and much artillery of brass and iron was prepared. When the preparations were well advanced they set out and took all native craft that plied under a Portuguese pass.[2]

After the surrender of Goa Dalboquerque made liberal arrangements for the land revenue, reducing the amount by fifty per cent and entrusting the collection to Hindus under Portuguese supervision.[3] In April he sent Diogo Fernandes de Beja with 200 men to rebuild Chitakul and remain there. But Diogo found the fort too ruined to be held and went back to Goa.[4] Before two months were over reports reached Goa that Adil Sháh had collected a great army for the recovery of Goa and that the advance guard was already close at hand. In May 1510 the main body of the Bijápur army entered Goa territory by the pass of Agáshi.[5] The fort was attacked and after a siege of twenty-one days Dalboquerque was forced to withdraw to his ships.[6]

About this time a letter reached Dalboquerque from king Beisore, perhaps Basvaráj of Gersappa saying that king Krishna had written that Bijápur was seeking his alliance against the Portuguese; that Krishna had refused saying that Bijápur had robbed him of Goa and he was delighted that his friends the Portuguese should hold it; that he meant to help the Portuguese to keep the place; and that he had told the Gersappa chief to give the Portuguese any assistance he could. The Gersappa chief declared his readiness to help the Portuguese with his own body and with all the resources of his kingdom.[7]

Timmaya had hoped that when the Portuguese took Goa they would hand it to him. To this Dalboquerque would not agree, and though he treated him with courtesy and made him the chief man in the kingdom of Goa, Timmaya was disappointed. And when he saw that as soon as the main body of the Bijápur troops entered Goa the Portuguese had to take to their ships (20th May 1510), he began to doubt whether he had been wise in allying himself with them.[8] He wrote to king Krishna to say that if he brought a strong force he and not the Portuguese would be masters of Goa.[9] After abandoning the fort of Goa the Portuguese spent the rest of June and part of July in their ships in the Goa river. On the 21st of July Dalboquerque attempted to cross the bar; but it was still too stormy and he was not able to leave till the 15th of August.[10] At sunset, on the day they started, the Portuguese were cheered by

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[1] Rumi, properly an inhabitant of Anatolia in Asia Minor, in this case is Mameluke rather than Turk. There were Europeans in the Egyptian fleet at Diu as the Portuguese found books in Latin, Italian, and Portuguese. Faria in Kerr, VI. 119.
[2] Stanley's Barbosa, 74-77. [3] Com. Dalb. II. 127. [4] Com. Dalb. II. 135.
[5] Com. Dalb. II. 125. According to Faria (Kerr, VI. 133) one detachment of the Bijápur army was commanded by the mother and women of the Bijápur king who maintained their troops out of the gains of 4000 prostitutes who followed the army.
[6] Faria in Kerr, VI. 133. [7] Com. Dalb. II. 139. [8] Com. Dalb. II. 105, 106.
[9] Com. Dalb. III. 36. [10] Com. Dalb. II. cxxvi.

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Dalboquerque, 1508-1512.

falling in with a fresh fleet of five vessels from Portugal, and together anchored at Anjidiv on the 17th August.[1] Dalboquerque sailed on to Honávar on the 19th. At Honávar he found Braz Vieira, the officer he had placed in command of Chitakul, who, as he could not return to Goa on account of the Bijápur army, had made his way by land to Honávar. Timmaya, who was also in Honávar, came on board with the welcome news that as soon as the Deccan army had withdrawn from Goa the people of the country had risen and driven out the Bijápur posts. Dalboquerque sailed on to Kánanur, promising to return and once more drive the Musalmáns out of Goa.[2]

In September an envoy was sent to Bhatkal to make a treaty with the chief on two conditions, the payment of a yearly tribute of 2000 bags (84,000 lbs.) of rice, and leave to build a house for a Portuguese factor.[3] The envoy was also ordered to deliver a letter to Timmaya telling him that Dalboquerque was making preparations for the attack on Goa, that with the help of Timmaya and of the chief of Gersappa he was confident of success, and that he sent two Portuguese officers and some Portuguese soldiers to captain and support the Hindus who were to wage war with Goa.[4] Lourenco Moreno, Dalboquerque's envoy, found the Bhatkal chief disinclined to accept Dalboquerque's proposed treaty, saying that he could do nothing without the leave of the Vijayanagar king. Timmaya and the Gersappa chief, on the other hand, were busy making ready and intended to help the Portuguese in their expedition against Goa.[5] This news reached Dalboquerque at Kánanur early in October.[6] When preparations were completed, on his way north to Goa, Dalboquerque called at Honávar, and was there met by the chief of Gersappa and Timmaya who, according to one account was being married to the daughter of the queen.[7] Dalboquerque explained to them his determination to regain Goa and expected Timmaya to accompany him. But on their way north at Anjidiv they found that Timmaya held back.[8] Towards the end of November Dalboquerque entered the Goa river and by the 25th of the month had driven the Bijápur troops out of the city and island.[9] When the city submitted it was strengthened with a castle and yielded a yearly revenue of 20,000 ducats. There was much trade with Malabár, Cheul, Dábul, Cambay, and Diu, and a large traffic in horses.[10] In this year, apparently after the second conquest of Goa, Merlao that is Malhárráo, the chief of Honávar, was ousted by a younger brother and retired to his uncle at Bhatkal. Dalboquerque upheld Malhárráo and sent ships to bring him from Bhatkal and men to meet him at Cintacora that is Chitakul.[11] The

[1] Com. Dalb. II. 199-200. Another account (Ditto, lxxxvii.) says they retired to Chitakul.
[2] Com. Dalb. II. 201-203. [3] Com. Dalb. III. 226-227. [4] Com. Dalb. II. 226-228.
[5] Com. Dalb. II. 241. These preparations seem to have been for the benefit of Krishnaráy not of Dalboquerque. [6] Com. Dalb. II. cxxvi. 241.
[7] Com. Dalb. III. 2; Faria in Kerr, VI. 135. [8] Com. Dalb. III. 3, 7.
[9] Timmaya came too late to be of service. Mádhavráo, the nephew of the Honávar chief, who was in command of three vessels of Timmaya's, greatly distinguished himself. Faria in Kerr, VI. 146.
[10] Stanley's Barbosa, 74-77. [11] Com. Dalb. III. 26.

brother tried to stop Malhárráo on his way at Caribal, perhaps Kadvad or Kárwár, and at Ankola, but failed.[1] At Goa, on his agreeing to pay £3000 (*Pardaos* 40,000) a year, Dalboquerque appointed Malhárráo manager of the Goa territory.[2] Before the close of the year (1510), Dalboquerque received letters from Fray Luiz at Vijayanagar. He had been well received by all except by the king. He found the king collecting troops and intending to march towards the west coast, apparently on the advice of Timmaya and the Gersappa chief, who had written to say that if the king brought a strong force he and not the Portuguese might hold Goa.[3] The king and his advisers seemed to incline towards an alliance with Adil Sháh. At least they were unwilling to commit themselves by an alliance with the Portuguese. On hearing how matters stood, Dalboquerque ordered Fray Luiz to return to Goa. He opened negotiations with Ismail Adil Sháh (1510-1534), as his object was to sow dissension among the native chiefs by offering each of them friendship and a monopoly of the horse trade. As soon as the news of the second capture of Goa (25th November) reached Vijayanagar, the king sent ambassadors to Goa. Dalboquerque refused to receive them saying that as he had no answer to his embassy he could come to no terms. Hearing from his ambassadors that Dalboquerque had made friendly offers to Bijápur, Krishna at once sent a fresh embassy to Dalboquerque with power to conclude a treaty of friendship and arrange about the trade in horses. The ambassadors brought word that Fray Luiz had been killed by a Turk and it was reported that Adil Sháh had ordered his murder.[4] Dalboquerque received the ambassadors graciously and concluded a treaty with Krishna.

In the following year (1511), when the affairs of Goa were in order, Dalboquerque sailed for Malacca, and on the 25th of July 1511[5] captured that famous port, then one of the chief centres of trade in the east. In Dalboquerque's absence Ismáil Adil Sháh attacked Malhárráo, the manager of the Goa lands, defeated him, and forced him and Timmaya to fly to Vijayanagar, where they were well received. Timmaya soon after died, and Malhárráo became chief of Honávar and remained staunch to the Portuguese.[6] The Bijápur troops continued to invest Goa till the 15th of August 1512, when, on Dalboquerque's return from Malacca, they were driven out of the Portuguese territory.[7] While Dalboquerque was absent in Malacca (1511-1512) an ambassador came from Vijayanagar with Gasper Chanoca whom Dalboquerque had sent there just before leaving for Malacca. The ambassador, finding Dalboquerque had left, returned to Vijayanagar. At the close of 1512, when the affairs of Goa were settled, Dalboquerque once more sent Gasper to king Krishna and asked him to grant a

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[1] Com. Dalb. III. 27.
[2] Com. Dalb. 27-28. He is styled governor of the Nequibares, apparently of the Náikwáris or Goanese Hindus who in another passage (Dalb. III. 21) are described as princely men and captains of Hindus. According to Faria (Kerr, VI. 136) Timmaya was made governor and Mádhavráo was his deputy.
[3] Com. Dalb. III. 36. [4] Com. Dalb. III. viii. and 38. [5] Com. Dalb, III. 120, 124.
[6] Com. Dalb. III. 188.
[7] Com. Dalb. III. 204-242 and xliii.; Faria in Kerr, VI. 146.

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house in Bhatkal, promising in return to send to Vijayanagar all horses that came to Goa. Afonso did not trust in the king of Vijayanagar, but he had faith in the chief of Gersappa, and had been told by the king of Portugal to strive to keep on good terms with the Vijayanagar king as he was a Hindu.[1] Three days later an embassy came from Vengapur, that is Bankápur in Dhárwár,[2] to congratulate Dalboquerque on his success at Goa. The ambassadors brought sixty beautifully trapped horses and asked that they might have the management of the lands of Goa and that they might have 300 horses a year. Dalboquerque gave them the horses because the chief was a useful ally as his land was a safe road to Vijayanagar and his people were skilful saddle-makers.[3]

Kánara, 1514.

About the time when Portuguese power was firmly established in Goa, the Portuguese traveller Duarte Barbosa gave the following account of Kánara and of its over-lord the king of Narsinga. He calls the coast of Vijayanagar the kingdom of Tulinat that is Tulavnád and describes it as containing many rivers and sea-ports with much trade and shipping and many rich merchants. He mentions four places on the Kánara coast, Cintacola or Chitakul, Mergeo river or Mirján, Honor or Honávar, and Batecala or Bhatkal. Chitakul was on the north of the river Aliga, that is the Kálinadi, which separated the kingdom of Decani or Bijápur from the kingdom of Narsinga or Vijayanagar. Chitakul was a fortress at the mouth of the river on the top of a hill. It belonged to the Zabayo that is Adil Sháh, and for the defence of the country it was always guarded by horse and foot soldiers. South of the Aliga in Vijayanagar or Narsinga's territory was the very large river called Mergeo, which produced a great quantity of common rice. The Malabárs came in their boats bringing cocoanuts, oil, and palm sugar, and taking the cheap rice. Beyond Mergeo, on another river, near the sea, was the good town of Honor which the Malabárs called Povaran.[4] Many Malabárs came bringing cocoanuts, oil, and palm-molasses, and wine, and took away the cheap brown rice. Thirty miles further, on another small river near the coast, was the large town of Batecala, that is Bhatkal, of very great trade, inhabited by very commercial Moors and Gentiles. The town stood on a level populous country and was without walls. There were many gardens round it, very good estates, with fresh plentiful water. The town paid a yearly tribute to the king of Portugal. The governor, named Damaqueti, probably Dharmakirti, was rich in money and jewels. He called himself king but he ruled in obedience to his uncle the king of Narsing. Many ships gathered from Ormuz to load very good white rice, sugar in powder of which there was much, much iron, and some spices and drugs, of which myrobalans were the chief. Formerly many horses and pearls came to Batikala but they now went to Goa. In spite of the Portuguese some ships went to Aden. The Malabárs brought cocoanuts, palm-sugar, oil, and wine, and some drugs; they took rice,

[1] Com. Dalb. III. 246-247.

[2] Bankápur is six miles south-east of Shiggaon, the head-quarters of the Bankápur sub-division of Dhárwár.

[3] Com. Dalb. III. 248.

[4] That is Ponavar. H and R change according to the usual Kánarese rule.

sugar, and iron. There was much sale of copper which was used as money and made into caldrons and other pans, and much sale of quicksilver, vermillion, coral, alum, and ivory. Duelling was very common. On account of anything they challenged one another, and the king granted them arms and a field and fixed a time for killing each other and gave each a second to back his man. They fought bare to the waist and below the waist wrapped many folds of cotton cloths tightly round them. Their arms were swords, bucklers, and daggers. They entered the lists with great pleasure, first saying their prayers. In a few passes they killed each other in the presence of the king and many people, no one speaking except the seconds, each of whom encouraged his own man.[1]

Inland the great range of hills was full of wild boars, large deer, leopards, ounces, lions, tigers, bears, and ashy animals like horses probably blue bulls. In the hilly parts were several good villages with plenty of water and delicious fruit. The upland plain was fertile and abundantly supplied with many cities, villages, and forts. There was much cultivation of rice and other vegetables and many cows, buffaloes, pigs, goats, sheep, asses, and small ponies. All field work and carrying was done by buffaloes, oxen, asses, and ponies. Almost all the villages were of Gentiles with a few Moors, as some of the lords were Moors. Bijanaquer that is Vijayanagar was on level ground surrounded by a very good wall on one side, a river on a second side, and a mountain on a third side. It was very large and very populous. There were many large and handsome palaces and wide streets and squares. The king, a Gentile called Raheni, that is Ráyalu, always lived in the city.[2] He lived very luxuriously and seldom left his palace. He was nearly white, well-made, and had long smooth black hair. The attendance on the king was by women who all lived in the palaces. They sang and played and amused the king in a thousand ways. They bathed daily and the king went to see them bathe and sent to his chamber the one that pleased him most, and the first son he had from any of them inherited the kingdom. Many litters and many horsemen stood at the door of the palace. The king kept 900 elephants each worth 1500 to 2000 ducats and 20,000 horses worth 300 to 600 ducats and some of the choicest worth 1000 ducats.[3] The king had more than 100,000 men, horse and foot, and 5000 women in his pay. The women went with the army but did not fight, but their lovers fought for them very vigorously. When the king, which occasionally happened, went in person to war he camped at some distance from the city and ordered all people to join him within a certain number of days. At the end of the days he gave orders to burn the whole city except his palaces and some of the nobles' palaces, that all might go to the war to die with him. Among his knights many

[1] Stanley's Barbosa, 78-81.

[2] Ráyalu is the Telugu form of the Tamil Ráyar, the honorific plural of Ráy or king. It seems to explain Moor's remark (Narrative, 183) that the chief of Anegundi was then (1790) called Rayeel.

[3] Barbosa's ducat is probably the gold Pardao or Pagoda. Compare Badger's Varthema, 115.

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Kandra, 1514.

had come from different parts to take service and did not cease to live in their own creeds. In times of peace the city was filled with an innumerable crowd of all nations. There were very rich local Gentiles, many Moorish merchants and traders, and an infinite number of others from all parts. They dwelt freely and safely in what creed they chose, whether Moor, Christian, or Gentile. The governors observed strict justice and there was an infinite trade. Great quantities of precious-stones poured into Vijayanagar, jewels from Pegu, diamonds from the Deccan and also from a Vijayanagar mine, and pearls from Ormuz and from Cael in South India. Silks and brocades were brought from China and Alexandria and much scarlet cloth from Europe, and there was a great import of coral, copper, quicksilver, vermillion, saffron, rose-water, pepper, opium, sandal and aloewood, camphor, and musk. The Gentiles of the city like the king were fair, well-proportioned, with good Portuguese-like features and long smooth black hair. Among the rich, the men wore a cap of silk or brocade, cloaks of cotton stuff or silk, a short shirt of cotton silk or brocade, a tight waistcloth of many folds, and sandals. Their bodies were anointed with white sandal, aloewood, camphor, musk, and saffron; their ears, necks, wrists, and fingers were covered with jewels; and they were followed by two pages, one carrying a sword, the other an umbrella of silk with gold and jewelled fringes. The women, who were pretty and of a grand presence, wore a robe girt round the waist and the upper end drawn over the shoulder and breast leaving one arm and shoulder bare. The head was bare and on their feet were well-worked leather sandals. Their hair was combed and plaited and in it were many flowers and scents. They had numbers of jewels in the nose and ears, and round the neck, arms, fingers, and waist.[1]

When Portuguese power was firmly established a tribute in grain was yearly levied from the small coast chiefs. The river of Chitakul paid 400 to 500 bales of rice; the port of Agrakona two miles north of Gokarn, 300 bales; the river of Ankola, 700 bales; the river of Mirzi, 500 bales; the river of Kombatem that is Kumta, 200 bales; the chief of Honávar, 2000 bales, and the queen of Batikala, 2000 bales.[2] For some years before 1540 the Gersappa queen seems to have withheld her tribute as on the 2nd of November of that year the viceroy Don Estavao da Gama made a treaty with the queen who agreed to pay 2000 bales of rice a year and 8000 bales for past tribute. She also bound herself not to export pepper.[3] Two years later (1542), the queen of Bhatkal withheld her tribute and the viceroy De Souza (1542-1545) wasted her territory with fire and sword.[4] On Krishna's death in 1542 Ráma Rája of Vijayanagar, probably the son of Timmarája Krishna's minister (1508-1543), assumed control of the kingdom, though he continued to carry on affairs in the name of Sadáshiva Ráya, Krishna's son or nephew, whom he kept in confinement. Rám Rája was a strong and able ruler, whose anxiety to reduce the power of Bijápur led him in

[1] Stanley, 84-98.
[2] Subsidios Para a Historia da India Portugueza: Lisbon, 1868, P. II. 246-248.
[3] Subsidios, II. 257-258.
[4] Mickle's Lusiad, I. clix.

1547 to propose an alliance with the Portuguese. The great Dom João da Castro, who was then viceroy, on the 17th September 1547, received the Vijayanagar ambassador Frarcao, perhaps Parshotam, with much ceremony and an alliance was concluded between the viceroy and Sadáshivráo king of Vijayanagar.[1] The provisions of this treaty were that the Portuguese should send Persian and Arab horses to Vijayanagar and should not let horses go to Bijápur; that the king of Vijayanagar should not allow grain to pass from his kingdom or from the kingdom of Bengnapur that is Bankápur in Dhárwár to the country of Adil Sháh, but that all grain that came for export to Bánda, now in Sávantvádi, should be sent to Honávar and Ankola, where were Portuguese factors, and should be sold to no one but to Portuguese traders; that the king of Vijayanagar should prevent saltpetre and iron passing through Obely that is Hubli to the Bijápur country, and send it to the Portuguese factors at Honávar and Ankola; that the king of Vijayanagar should order that all the cloth that now came from his country to Bánda for export should be brought to the Portuguese factors at Honávar and Ankola, and should there be exchanged with copper, tin, coral, vermillion, mercury, and silk from China and Ormuz, and with other merchandise from Portugal; that if any Turkish ship came to any Vijayanagar port shelter should be refused, and that if any ship entered it should be captured and made over to the Portuguese; that the Portuguese and the Vijayanagar king should together declare war on Adil Sháh; that if land was taken between the Sahyádris and the sea, and between Bánda and the river Chitákul or Sentakora, it should be given to the Portuguese because this territory formerly belonged to Goa; and that all other land that might be captured should be given to Vijayanagar.[2] *Da Castro, 1547.*

Of this Sadáshivráv, the successor of Krishnaráya, no grants are recorded from Kánara. But Buchanan found at Gokarn, dated 1549 (S. 1472) by Solva Krishna Devarasu Wodeyar, the son of Sedásiva Ráya, and king of Vijayanagar, Haiva, Tulav, and Konkana, the grant to a Gokarn temple of land in the Goa principality, in the Ashtagrám of Sashisti.[3] He also records in a temple at Banavási an inscription in the reign of Venkatádri Dev Mahárâya dated 1551 (S. 1474),[4] and in a temple of Dháreshvar near Honávar a grant dated 1557 (S. 1481) of Solva Krishna Devarasu.[5] After the death of Krishna Ráya (1542) the power of Vijayanagar rapidly declined. Sadáshiva, the son either of Krishna Ráy or of his colleague Achyuta, and his descendants continued nominally to reign till 1573. But they were under the power of Ráma Rája, who is supposed to have been the son of Krishna Ráy's Bráhman minister, Timma Rája. At Vijayanagar there was bitter rivalry between Rám Rája and Tirumala Rája, the uncle of Sadáshiva. At last Tirumala was defeated and committed suicide, and Rám Rája seized the supreme

[1] Os Portuguezes, VI. (1850), 25-26. [2] Subsidios, II. 255, 257.
[3] Mysore, III. 170. Ashtagrám is Ashtagrar, one of the five Portuguese divisions or Panch Mahâls. It lies to the south of Sálsette and was conquered in 1763 by the Portuguese viceroy Manuel de Saldanha de Albuquerque from the Sonda chief Savái Imodi Sadáshiv. Dr. G. Da Cunha. [4] Mysore, III. 234. [5] Mysore, III. 164.

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Sack of Vijayanagar, 1565.

power. He was an able ruler, but his arrogance brought on him the united strength of the four Musalmán powers of Bijápur, Golkonda, Ahmadnagar, and Bedar. This ended in 1565 in the complete overthrow of Rám Rája at Talikot, ten miles south of the Krishna near Ráichur, which was followed by the capture and sack of Vijayanagar, when booty was obtained sufficient to enrich every man in the victorious army.[1] Though the overthrow of the power of Vijayanagar was complete, the jealousy of the two leading Musalmán confederates, the Bijápur and the Ahmadnagar kings, prevented either of them from annexing any part of the conquered territory. A year after the battle, Tirumala Rája, the brother of Rám Rája, returned to the capital. But failing to restore it, he retired to Penukonda about 140 miles to the south-east.[2] Venkatádri the other brother established himself at Chandragiri in the east or Madras Karnátak. As late as 1576 grants continued to be issued in the name of the nominal sovereign of Vijayanagar.[3]

Frederick, 1567.

In 1567, two years after its sack by the four Musalmán kings of the Deccan, Ahmadnagar, Bedar, Golkonda, and Bijápur, the Venetian traveller Cæsar Frederick visited Vijayanagar with some horse merchants from Goa. According to Frederick, the country, for thirty years before its conquest by the Musalmáns, had been governed by three tyrant brothers Rámráj, Timmaráj, and Venkatráv. They had been captains of the former king Krishna (1508-1542), and kept his son the rightful king (Sadáshiv Ráy) in prison showing him to the people once a year. Of the three brothers Rámráj sat on the throne and was king, Timmaráj was the civil governor, and Venkatráv was the chief captain. At the battle of Talikot in 1565 Rámráj and Venkatráv were slain, and Timmaráj escaped with the loss of an eye. The wives and children of the three brothers, with the prisoner king, fled from Vijayanagar before the Musalmáns arrived. The Moors stayed in Vijayanagar for six months, searching under houses and in all places for money.[4] When the Musalmáns were gone, Timmaráj came back and began to re-

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[1] Rice Mysore, I. 233.

[2] Wilks' Mysore, I. 61. Pelagonda is described by the Italian traveller Nicolo Conti, in 1430, as a very noble city eight days from Vijayanagar. Major's India in XVth Century, II. 7.

[3] Rice's Mysore, I. 233. Sadáshiva was succeeded by his son Sri Ranga, and continued to rule for eight successions, when they fled before the Moghals to his relations at Chandragiri. Six years later, as Chandragiri was taken by the Golkonda army, he fled to Sivappa Náyak of Bednur who gave him the government of Sakráypatna. Another member of the family continued to rule at Anegundi, across the river from Vijayanagar, till they were destroyed by Tipu in 1776. Rice's Mysore, I. 234. Moor in 1790 (Narrative, 183) notices that there was still a representative of the old family at Anegundi. See below p. 119.

[4] Of the effect of the battle of Talikot the Portuguese historian Faria-y-Suza (Kerr, VI. 422) writes: The trade of India in 1566 was reduced to a very low ebb by the desolating war between Vijayanagar and the Musalmán kings of the Deccan. The Vijayanagar king, who was then ninety-six years old was at first successful, but in the end was defeated and slain. The Musalmáns spent five months in plundering Vijayanagar, though the natives had previously carried away 1550 elephant-loads of money and jewels, worth above a hundred millions of gold, besides the royal chair which was of inestimable value. In his share of the plunder Adil Sháh got a diamond as large as an ordinary egg with another of extraordinary size though smaller and other jewels of prodigious value. The victors partitioned the dominions of the old king among his sons and nephews.

people the city, tempting merchants by the promise of great prices. Frederick's business in Vijayanagar was over in one month, but he had to stay seven months (December to July), because the country was full of thieves who ranged up and down. The son of Timmaráj had put to death the prisoner king, and the barons would not acknowledge him, so the country was divided and lawless. Timmaráj's son had retired to the castle of Penegonde, eight days inland from Vijayanagar. Vijayanagar though empty was not destroyed. The circuit of the city was twenty-four miles and within the walls were certain mountains. The houses were standing, but in parts of the city there was nothing but tigers and other wild beasts. Most of the houses were plain with mud walls, but the temples and palaces were of lime and fine marble. Of all the kings' courts Frederick had seen, the Vijayanagar palace was the finest. There were five great outer and four small inner gates, the palace was well guarded and the city safe from thieves, the Portuguese merchants sleeping in the streets for the great heats and never getting any harm. In July, Frederick and two Portuguese merchants determined to start for Goa. The merchants were in palanquins or little litters carried by eight bearers, as the Venetians carry barrows. Frederick was on an ox of commodious pace, and he had a second ox for his victuals and baggage. As it was winter (July) it took them fifteen days to get to the coast, and the place they reached was not Goa but Ankola in Kánara. Before he had gone much more than half way, Frederick lost both his bullocks. The victual bullock was weak and could not go; the riding bullock when swimming across a river found an island with grass in the middle, and remained there and in no wise could Frederick come at him. So in heavy rain he had to travel seven days on foot, fortunately finding people to carry his baggage. The journey was full of trouble. Every day they were taken prisoners by reason of the great dissension in the kingdom, and every morning they had to pay a ransom before they were allowed to leave. Another not less grievous trouble was that when they passed into a new governor's lands, which they did every day, they had to get new money, as each local governor though tributary to Vijayanagar stamped his own coin. At length they reached Ankola on the sea, a country of the queen of Gersappa, tributary to Vijayanagar. One of his companions, who had nothing to lose, took a guide and went to Goa. Frederick and his other friend stayed at Ankola where they were joined by another horse merchant, two Portuguese soldiers from Ceylon, and two Christian letter-carriers. The whole party arranged to start together for Goa, and Frederick went with them in a very poor palanquin of cane with eight bearers. In one of the canes of his palanquin he hid his jewels. At the mountain which divided Ankola from the Deccan, Frederick, who was behind the rest, was attacked by eight thieves, four with swords and targets and four with bows and arrows. His bearers fled and the robbers rifled his palanquin but did not find the jewels. When the robbers were gone, the bearers came back and in four days carried him to Goa.[1]

[1] Cæsar Frederick in Hakluyt's Voyages, II. 348, 349.